846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
● [764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
[301] gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

portant and the one which ascends to the sky after death, there to receive its proper reward or punishment. This latter notion, however, appears to have been derived from modern religious ideas. The various souls residing in other parts of the body were said by this informant to live in and about the house of the deceased until such time as they are driven out. Most informants, on the other hand, maintain that the body has but a single soul, which lives in and about the house of the deceased until driven out to the ocean or into the mountains by a shaman, there to reside eternally. Having once been thus expelled, the soul is never again seen about the house, but it may return to the cemetery or to other parts of the region. It is said to do no special harm to the living after having been driven away, but will cause the death of other members of the family if allowed to remain unmolested about the house.

On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

Before leaving the house with the body, the relatives

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

764 prepare for the occasion what might be termed a fence of palm-leaves. A row of palm-leaves is set together vertically along the river-bank in front of the house, the row being sometimes a hundred yards or more in length. Opposite the house and at the point where the path ordinarily used for going to the river crosses the row, one leaf is omitted. When the family departs with the corpse, the head of the house sets in place the leaf necessary to complete the fence, and the house then becomes taboo to all passers-by. No one, not even the [734] negroes of the region, would think of going through or around this fence or in any way approaching the house, owing to their fear of the soul of the departed which is supposed to linger about the house and which would be sure to wreak vengeance upon them. If it has been determined, however, that the relatives of the deceased shall again inhabit the house, they return after the funeral and pass through the fence, but not until the head of the house has removed the single palm-leaf referred to as the one last planted by him. The remainder of the fence is never taken down, but is allowed to fall of its own accord.

768 In many cases such a house is never again occupied. This is true when the deceased is an important member of the family, as the father, mother, or a favorite son or daughter; indeed almost any of the older members of a family are considered sufficiently important to warrant the abandonment of the house. After the death of a young child, on the other hand, a house is almost always reoccupied. The abandonment of a house is a matter of no small importance to a Cayapa family, since its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

768 there would be no other reason for returning to it, since when the corpse is taken away all property which the relatives do not care to abandon completely is removed from the house at the same time.

In large measure the property of the deceased is destroyed or disposed of by the surviving relatives. [764] Some of his property, along with some of their own, is usually buried with the corpse. The greater part of the remainder of the property of the dead, and also frequently much of that of the relatives, is thrown into the river, given to other persons, or sold. Ordinarily one or two articles, as for instance a manta or an adz formerly belonging to the deceased, is kept by near relatives, but often there seems to be a definite desire to destroy all evidences of the life of the deceased and to get rid of any articles that would recall him to their minds.

KINSHIP

601 The terms of relationship among the Cayapa are as follow:

Ascending Relationship

English	Cayapa	Equivalent
father	a′pa	
mother	a′ma	
grandfather	antc-a′pa	antc-father
grandmother	antc-a′ma	antc-mother
uncle	yapī′pī, apī′pī, apī′kū	a′pī-a′pa
older than parent	apa-karī′we	father-karī′we
	apīkū-rūkū′we	father-kū-old-man
younger than parent	ka′ī-apīpī	little-father-pī

will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Camerones, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /úhkuŋgúle/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Miltón where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective <u>brujos</u>. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pemúla/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children race about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúši/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /lúši/, and one

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúši/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /úliŋgayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kénu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

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'getting yucca.' A group of men and boys seat themselves in a line. Then four men come and choose one of the players who will be the yucca. This yucca is picked up bodily with one man holding each extremity, and he is then offered for "sale." He is "sold" for /pánda lúši/.[1] After the purchase the yucca remains beside his buyer for a few minutes after which the "money" is placed in the coffin. After this gesture the "owner" of the dead sets up a round of drinks for the players.

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/ayalánu/ 'fishing' is still another entertainment that involves the use of /pánda lúši/. One man tosses out a "line" made of a small piece of cloth among a group of seated "fish." Every now and then one bites and is hauled in and "killed" with a piece of wood. The fish is then weighed by being hefted bodily and is then sold for plantain money.

Another pastime is known as /čupípi/ 'chicken' and is very rough. A man or boy pretends to be a chicken hawk and attempts to steal a "chicken." The "hens" try to prevent this, and few holds are barred.

There is also a diversion called /atukása kénu/

[1] [i.e. "plantain money". - ANALYST]

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'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

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Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

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considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin.

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kénu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "manay ya se fué muluta yaye llegue muluta talatʸumbi ísúvande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery.

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary

area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /ʔiñʔi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.